

The American Observer

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

MARCH 2, 1936

Congress Makes Few Neutrality Changes

Bill Passed Last August Is Re-enacted with Several Minor Amendments

VICTORY FOR ISOLATIONISTS

Fundamental Problem Remains Unsolved as Congress Compromises in Face of Opposition

A new neutrality law has been passed by Congress. Perhaps it would be more exact to say that the temporary neutrality law enacted last August—the one which was to be in effect only until February 29—has been amended and re-enacted. In its amended form, the neutrality law is to run until May 1, 1937. Congress has not, therefore, decided upon a permanent neutrality policy, but it has determined what course our country shall follow in its effort to keep out of any war which may occur during the next 14 months. Here are the main provisions of the act which is now in effect:

1. When a war is going on anywhere in the world, the government or citizens of the United States shall not sell arms, ammunitions, or implements of war to any of the countries which are fighting, or to any neutral country for the purpose of shipping these materials on from the neutral country to the country which is at war.

This is a very important provision. It changes the policy to which America has held throughout its history. During other wars, including the World War, our munition factories were busy making supplies for the warring nations. Munition makers became rich, and thousands of workers in the munition factories found employment at high wages. During the World War Great Britain and France were greatly helped by receiving munitions from America. The Germans, who could not get them because the Allied navies controlled the seas, were angered. They said their boys were being killed by guns and material furnished by America. All that is to be stopped now. There is to be no selling of munitions by America.

Important Restrictions

2. American vessels shall not carry contraband of war, or arms or ammunition or implements of war. American ships cannot engage in this trade. They cannot carry munitions from some other country to a warring nation. It is the intention of this provision to keep American vessels from getting mixed up in the war.

3. No American shall make a loan to a nation which is at war. It shall be unlawful to buy bonds of any country which is fighting. This provision will make it very difficult for a nation at war to carry on a war trade with America. Our law does not forbid the trade in anything except arms and munitions, but by saying that Americans cannot make loans in any form, it provides practically that the purchases made by the nations at war shall be made on a cash basis. Ordinarily, the belligerent nations are unable to pay cash. During the World War they carried on their great war trade with the United States principally by securing loans. Before we entered the war these loans were made by American bankers and private

(Concluded on page 8)



SEVILLE VIGNETTE

From an etching by S. Tushingham, courtesy Schwartz Galleries, New York.

Following the Rules

The next time you find yourself in a restaurant or railway coach or hotel lobby or some other place where a number of people, in couples or groups, are engaged in informal conversation, suppose you try a little experiment. Just close your eyes for a moment and allow yourself to become aware of the voices without paying close attention to any of them. You will be conscious of an undertone of somewhat subdued sound. Then, if the people about you are a typical lot, you will quickly single out some particular voice, louder, more strident than the others. Some individual will claim your attention. You will hear every word that he utters. His conversation will stand out above the indistinct murmur of the crowd. It is an unusual body of two or three dozen people which does not include one or two or three individuals who at once become conspicuous because of their loud or piercing voices. Whenever they speak their neighbors look to see who they are and what they are like. They obtrude themselves upon their fellow passengers or fellow diners or upon any who may chance to be near them. They may not be a bad lot. They may, indeed, be quite respectable and well-intentioned persons. But they are insensitive. They have never learned the art of moving in a quiet, unobtrusive manner among their fellows. They attract attention, not by the soundness of their ideas, the quality of their voices, the attractiveness of their personalities, the originality or effectiveness of their acts, but by advertising their physical presence raucously, cheaply.

There is one very important lesson in behavior which such people have missed. They have not learned that in speech, in dress, in habits of eating, in ordinary behavior of all kinds one should go along with the crowd, conforming to the general rules, avoiding the drawing of attention to himself. When one ignores this rule of conduct he may not commit a very serious offense but he draws unfavorable attention upon himself. He produces a sense of irritation among others; he makes the difficult task of getting along together more difficult.

It is a good thing to standardize the little physical habits of life in order that we may associate together with as little irritation as possible. That does not mean that one should be regimented. The higher operations of his mind may still be free. He may be as original as he pleases. But there is not much point to one's exhausting his impulses toward originality by making himself conspicuous in a crowd, by eating according to rules not generally accepted, by failing to follow the usual rules of etiquette. For the benefit of those who would like more exact knowledge of the usually accepted rules governing daily conduct, we suggest the following books which may be helpful: "The Correct Thing," by William O. Stevens. (New York: Dodd, Meade. \$1.50.) "Manners for Millions," by Sophie C. Hadida. (Garden City: Doubleday. \$1.95.) "Manners; American Etiquette," by Helen Hathaway. (New York: Dutton. \$3.) "Etiquette at a Glance," by A. S. Richardson. (New York: Appleton. \$1.50.) "American Etiquette," by Ethel Shubert. (Philadelphia: Penn. \$1.)

Radicals Again Rule Spanish Government

Unexpected Overturn in Election Restores Manuel Azana to Premiership

REFORMS WILL BE REVIVED

Nation Tense as Possibility of Civil Strife between Radicals and Conservatives Persists

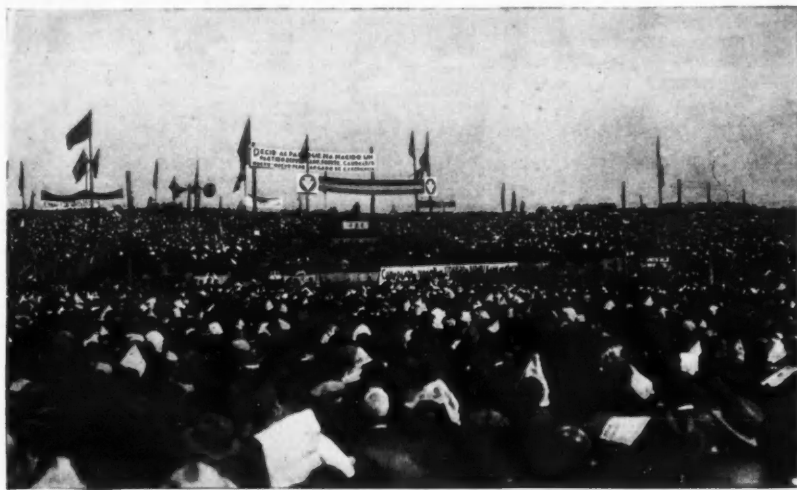
"Slipping down a Madrid side street on a dark night in December 1930 was an odd-looking figure. Following him, you would have noted his hurried, furtive walk, his bulky body squeezing round corners. Closer, you would have seen an interesting face—big jowls, froglike eyes, a complexion like green dough. Also you would have seen a beard, which looked a little strange. It did not quite seem to fit the face. And with reason. It was false. The heavy hurrying, bearded gentleman, if you questioned him, would have had to admit being Don Manuel Azana, an obscure civil servant and literary man. And no one would have believed it if you had said that in two years Don Manuel Azana was to be prime minister of Spain." Thus writes John Gunther in the chapter on Spain in his recently published book, "Inside Europe," about the man who has played the leading role in the brief history of the Spanish republic and whose name today figures prominently in the news coming from Spain.

Radicals Win

Once more, fate seems to have smiled on Manuel Azana, for as a result of the elections held last month (see THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, February 24) the political groups he represents are once more in power. Azana has again been made premier of Spain. The conservatives, who controlled the government following the elections held in the fall of 1933, have been routed and the more liberal or radical elements are now in power again. Their majority in the Spanish Cortes, or parliament, is not large. Together, they hold probably 25 or 30 seats more than their political enemies, the conservatives. But their victory was significant, for it shows that the people of Spain have again turned from conservatism to liberalism, entrusting their government to parties which aim to carry out policies designed to benefit the common run of people, the farmers and workers and ordinary citizens.

Thus the political wheel of Spain seems to have made a complete turn since the spring of 1931 when, in one of the most peaceful and bloodless revolutions in history, the people ousted their king, Alfonso XIII, and established a republican form of government. There have been several interesting chapters in this brief history, the latest of which is just now beginning to unfold before our eyes. If we are to understand the present and the recent past in Spain we must examine very briefly these developments of the last five years, for they constitute an interesting story.

Prior to the revolution of April 1931, Spain was one of the few countries of Europe that seems not to have taken the step from feudalism to modern industrialism. It is true, of course, that there were industries and industrial centers in Spain. But for the most part a feudal system held sway. The people had little to say about their government. The king



80,000 SPANIARDS

Listen to the words of Manuel Azana, in a gigantic demonstration some time before the recent election.

ruled through a military dictatorship of the most rigid type. Three elements of the population seemed to run the country as they saw fit. On the one hand, there was the nobility, the grandees, great landowners with large estates. Secondly, there was the military clique of army officers which composed a caste by itself. The third group which had considerable economic and political power was the Roman Catholic Church and especially some of the religious orders belonging to it.

Republic Established

The seamy side of this picture of monarchist Spain was to be found in the streets of the cities and on the often bleak countryside. The workers were hopelessly poor, caught between the double millstone of low wages and crushing taxes. The streets were lined with beggars and cripples. Misery and squalor abounded everywhere. And the country cousins of these city dwellers were scarcely better off, most of them being landless peasants engaged in the basic task of trying to draw a meager existence from the soil which they did not own. Intellectuals and political leaders who had tried to do something for these down-trodden masses were in jail, for the dictatorship would brook no opposition. Elections had not been held for many years, and thus the people had no occasion to register their protests against the existing political and economic order.

That sentiment was overwhelmingly in favor of change was made dramatically clear that Sunday in April 1931 when the people of Spain marched to the polls. King Alfonso had allowed himself to be jockeyed into holding municipal elections, which proved to be his undoing because the result was a sweeping victory for the republicans. Probably change would have come whether elections had been called or not. The pot was about to boil over anyway. The elections and the immediate abdication of the king saved the violence and bloodshed which would have been essential to accomplish the revolution by force.

Like other countries which have embarked upon a program of drastic social change, the republicans sought, once they were in control of the government, to make a clean sweep and build a new society from the bottom up. After months of negotiation and tireless effort, they drafted a constitution for what they called "a workers' republic of all classes." The provisions of this basic law were second in radicalism only to Soviet Russia. This remarkable document contained many things that were definitely socialistic in nature. The government was given the right

to take over and operate many of the essential industries of the country. Property was to be taken from the grandees and divided among the people. A good part of the 26,000 army officers were dismissed in order to reduce the expenditures for the military forces, which took a third of the whole Spanish budget.

Blow at Religion

The new constitution dealt a vital blow to the Catholic church. Article III declared that "the Spanish republic has no official religion," which was indeed an innovation, since Spain was probably the most Catholic country of Europe and Catholicism had always been the official religion. Considerable church property was taken over. Church schools were closed and the state assumed responsibility for education of the youth. Shortly after the adoption of the constitution, the Jesuit religious order, always a potent factor in Spanish politics, was dissolved. It was apparently the intention of the new government so to cripple the Catholic church as to prevent it from exerting its former influence over the affairs of the nation.

The radical government, under the leadership of Azana, took to its task of making Spain over with energy and enthusiasm. But it did not get very far, for opposition soon developed among those who would have been hurt by the revolutionary changes. The wealthy landowners were not going to sit idly by while the government took their property and distributed it among the peasants. Nor did the church have any intention of seeing itself stripped of its belongings, to say nothing of its power, without a bitter struggle. In a word, strong opposition soon developed—opposition which was eventually strong enough to thwart the government in its major undertakings.

Perhaps the greatest stumbling block of the new government was its religious pro-

gram. Catholicism was so deeply entrenched in Spain, the people themselves were so devoutly Catholic, that traditions of generations could not be broken down overnight. The church wisely refrained from breaking openly with the government, even though it was deprived of its wealth and stripped of its power. But it knew that the people were still very religious, and it undertook to accomplish its ends in another way. The Vatican organized a movement, the primary purpose of which was to protect the interests of the church in Spain.

In every city and village of Spain branches of a religious organization, known as the Catholic Action, were established. On the surface, this organization was designed to act only on religious matters—to keep the faithful in line with the teachings of the church and to bring wanderers back into the fold. But in every city of Spain, one section of the Catholic Action devoted itself to political purposes. It tried to bring all Catholics together for the purpose of fighting those features of the constitution which worked against the interests of the church. In charge of this program was a young man, José Maria Gil Robles, often spoken of as a possible dictator of Spain—a fascist dictator in the eyes of his enemies.

The Catholics, with such an effective organization, were soon able to make their influence felt in Spanish politics. Moreover, they were wise enough to join hands with other groups whose interests were identical with their own. They cooperated closely with the landowners and other conservatives to whom the new government was just as distasteful. Their chance came in 1933. Azana alienated popular support for his government by ruthlessly suppressing a group of Communists, a mistake which led to his resignation and shortly afterward to the dissolution of the Cortes and to the calling of new general elections.

Conservatives Return

In those elections, the wheel turned half-way round, for the conservatives were victorious and organized the government. The new cabinet was frankly in favor of scrapping many of the provisions of the constitution. Naturally, it could not do so immediately, for the document itself provided that amendments could not be made until four years after its adoption, except by a two-thirds vote of the Cortes, and the conservatives did not have a sufficient majority. So the conservatives accomplished the same end simply by not enforcing the laws which had been passed to carry out the provisions of the constitution. Thus most of the reforms remained purely paper reforms. Speaking of the new premier, Alejandro Lerroux, who, with Gil Robles, largely controlled Spain, Mr. Gunther makes the following comment: "Paying lip-service to the revolution, he (Lerroux) courted the old Spain. His siren song was 'no radicalism' (though he was head of the 'radical' party!) Agrarian reform? Of course, but in a generation. The lay state? Of course, but with the greatest respect for Catholic tradition and the priestly conscience . . . Army reforms? Of course—but only to a limited degree. . . ."

For a year, the conservatives ruled Spain, doing everything possible to prevent the "new" Spain from becoming a reality. But the radical parties, parties of the Left, were not sitting idly by watching their program scrapped so effectively. They feared a fascist dictatorship and in October 1934 they struck out in several cities in an attempt to regain the government. Socialists, communists, and other radicals who started the revolt were

put down by the military forces of the government. About 1,400 were killed and twice that number wounded in the clashes. Over a thousand buildings were destroyed. And between 25,000 and 30,000 members of the Left parties, including Azana, were thrown into prison.

Left Organizes

We cannot here review the troubled history of Spain last year. The conservatives were unable to maintain a stable government, as more than six cabinets were defeated during the year. Moreover, the parties of the Left, instead of being crushed after their ill-fated revolt of 1934, stirred into new activity. Azana, now out of jail, at one time last fall drew an audience of 80,000 to a political meeting, said to be the largest in Spanish history. The Left claimed this to be a victory in the direction of "restoration of the republic."

In order to become more effective politically, the parties of the Left—those which were interested in carrying out the provisions of the constitution and really making Spain over in the interests of the masses—formed, as similar parties have done in France—a Popular Front.

Just what the results of this radical victory will have upon the future of Spain cannot be told at this time. For a while,

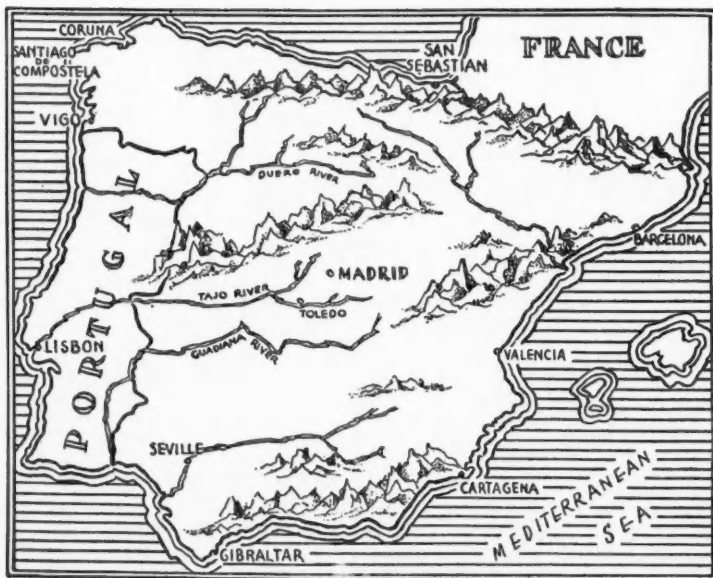


© Wide World

MANUEL AZANA

it appeared that civil war would break loose, as riots took place in several cities. But the conservatives relinquished their power without protest and the liberals were once more placed in office.

There can be little doubt that drastic measures will at least be introduced and possibly tried out. While the main plank in the platform of the Popular Front was the immediate release of the thousands of political prisoners held in Spain, a number of other demands of far-reaching significance were included. The new government is strongly pro-labor and will probably seek to reenact labor legislation which the conservative régime repealed. It will also attempt to carry out the agricultural program of dividing up the large estates among tenant farmers and to put through plans to suppress Catholic education through church schools, although it may be inclined to proceed carefully on this point because of the sentiments of the Spanish people.



—Drawn by Todd

SPAIN

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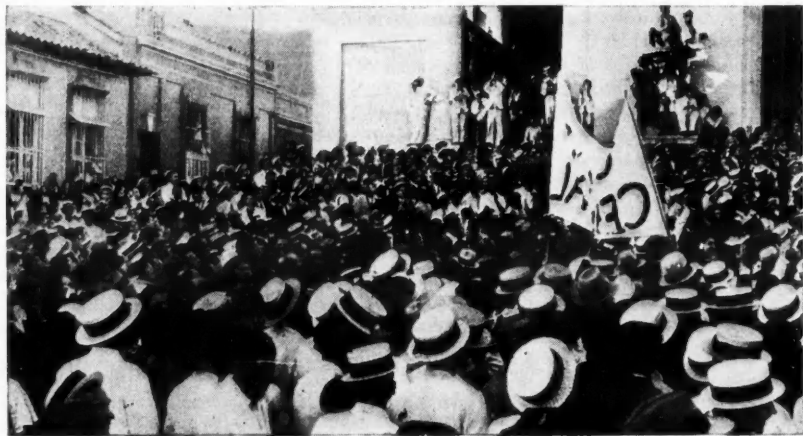
AROUND THE WORLD

England: King Edward VIII continues to impress his subjects as being a very sensible sort of fellow who has no outdated notions of how a monarch ought to act. To be sure, he still wears a crown at official state functions, and heralds still call out the full blast of his many titles; but he himself continues to act as informally as when he was Prince of Wales.

A short while ago, he visited the British Industries Fair, the first public engagement since he became king. There he was shown some shirts made of paper, and he immediately asked: "But will they wash?" While going around the various booths he displayed keen interest in the commercial progress of the many peoples over whom he reigns.

This realistic attitude is much in keeping with a tradition he established as Prince of Wales. His position as "supersalesman" of the British Empire is well known. Not as well known is the direct spur he often gave to trade. When still a prince he was rather notorious for the frequency with which he changed his style of clothes. At times he would wear one type of suit and shortly thereafter change to another type. Occasionally he showed a most unconventional taste, as in the matter of socks and shirts. Some people have thought this the vagaries of a pampered and spoiled prince. But Edward VIII has revealed to a friend the reason for it. He realized that his style would set up a pattern for the whole empire. Let the Prince of Wales but change the color of his hat and millions of British subjects—whether in Bombay or Oxford or Montreal—would also change the color of their hats. So when any particular trade began to feel the pinch of depression, the Prince would display that trade's wares and a little peak of prosperity would show itself above the dull horizon.

Italy: When the northern Italian army recently inflicted a decisive defeat upon the forces of Ethiopia, the newspapers of Italy spoke of the event in glowing terms, emphasizing especially the heroism of their country's troops. But little was said of the Italian penetration of the enemy territory. Maps indicating the real extent of the victory were given an inconspicuous place where readers were unlikely to notice them.



VENEZUELAN DEMAND A FREE PRESS

At least four were slain and 25 wounded in wild demonstrations before the government house in Caracas, as 50,000 Venezuelans denounced the government's enforcement of press censorship.

There is good reason for this. While it is true that thousands of Ethiopians were slain by the attack of Marshal Pietro Badoglio, military experts have begun to doubt whether the battle has brought Mussolini's determination to subdue Ethiopia any closer to realization. They note that the much heralded advance has carried the Italian troops only five miles farther into the interior of the country. Addis Ababa, the

capital, is as far away as ever, perched on a high plateau not easily scaled by any army. And it is not until they have conquered this plateau that Il Duce's generals can claim victory. The real and most difficult task consequently still lies ahead of them. It is significantly pointed out that the army has not yet reached the strategic spot at which, in 1895, the fortunes of the Italian army began to wane, causing it to retreat to Adowa where it was crushed by Menelik II. For it is at this strategic spot that the central plateau of Ethiopia begins its treacherous ascent.

There is another development working against the Italians. This last battle has convinced the Ethiopian military leaders that they must not again permit their armies to be drawn into actual battle with the Italians. In massed warfare, Italy with her modern weapons is undoubtedly superior to Ethiopia. The troops of Haile Selassie have had convincing and painful evidence of this fact. In the future, they will resume their old practice of sending out small guerrilla bands to harass the invading soldiers. Nothing is feared more by the Italians. They know that if the Ethiopian emperor will follow this practice, an early end of the war is not in sight. As one Italian observer commented, "The war's future lies more in the hands of the Ethiopians than of the Italians."

* * *

Germany: Within a short while after Adolf Hitler became dictator of Germany, that country's foreign trade reached a new low. It was faced by three difficulties. Germany had neither cash nor credit with which to buy goods abroad. The worldwide depression had hit her with particular severity. And the policies of the Nazi régime had brought about a widespread boycott of her goods.

Determined to meet these challenges, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, the financial dictator, introduced a new system of foreign trade which has now been hailed as very successful. Here is how it worked. Since German goods could not find a large market when their prices were the same as those of other countries, Germany undersold her competitors. If, for example, a manufacturer from Czechoslovakia offered shoes for sale in Austria at \$3 a pair, the German manufacturer would offer the same pair of shoes

mate profit. Where did the government get the money? Partly by borrowing and partly by taxing other industries.

The plan has worked most successfully. In the first six months of 1935, Germany was importing more than she was exporting, the difference being 159,000,000 marks (the mark is currently valued at about 40 cents). In the last six months of the same year, since the plan was put into effect,



AMERICANS AT THE OLYMPICS

As American teams marched in the opening exercises at Garmisch-Partenkirchen recently. The United States was bested by European teams in the winter sports contests, winning only the two-man bobsleigh title. The Norwegians won the most gold medals.

there was an export surplus of 300,000,000 marks. By thus selling a great deal to other nations, Germany is able to buy much of the raw material she needs for building up a strong fighting machine.

But conservative economists consider this victory with alarm. They note that Germany has to sell her wares cheaply, while she has to pay dearly for the things she buys. And no government can indefinitely go on paying subsidies and taxing her citizens while another people really gets the benefits in cheap goods and in selling raw materials back to Germany.

It is further pointed out that the price of foodstuffs has risen as the result of this new plan and not as many people have been reemployed as had been claimed.

* * *

Venezuela: There have been riots lately in Venezuela. A number of persons have been killed and wounded. News of that kind comes frequently from the other South American republics, but it is a little unusual for it to come from Venezuela. That country has enjoyed domestic peace for a long time. For 25 years it was ruled by Dictator Vincent Gomez. When he died last fall the government was without debt. The people enjoyed a degree of prosperity unusual in Latin America. A network of good roads covered the country. Public works had given to the land an appearance of progress.

An election is to be held in May to choose a new president, and the recent riots were incidents of the political campaign. There is a strong demand on the part of the people for democratic rule and for freedom of speech and press. The provisional president, General Eleazar Contreras, is ruling autocratically, but many hope that a democratic régime will be established after the elections.

* * *

Austria: By reading Louis Fischer's discussion of the Austrian situation in the February 26 issue of *The Nation*, one gains a vivid impression of the complicated and dangerous relations between that little country and her neighbors. The Austrian government is weak. So long as it remains so there is grave danger that the German Nazis will swoop down upon the land and annex it to Germany. But if, in order to gain greater strength, the Austrians should

restore the Hapsburg monarchy the neighboring Balkan countries would be up in arms. They would feel that the Hapsburgs would try to restore the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which would mean the end of Czechoslovakia and Hungary and the cutting away of territory from Yugoslavia and Rumania. If Germany should take Austria it would bring that powerful nation to the door of Italy and the

Italians would fight rather than to have that happen. It is in the interest of world peace that the feeble Austrian government be maintained and that Austria continue as an independent nation. But how long independence can be maintained in the face of pressure from the outside is a question. When the collapse comes, if it does come, the long-expected European war may be precipitated. That is why students of international affairs keep their eyes on Austria.

* * *

In describing conditions as he found them during a recent visit to Germany, Sir Arthur Willert tells in his new book "What Next in Europe?" of the operations of the Nazi spies. He was told that there is one for each city block. The spies watch the people in order to discover those who are disloyal to the Nazis. One must guard his conversation closely lest he be overheard by a spy and reported to the secret police.

* * *

A general strike against the French régime in Syria has now entered its sixth week. Merchants in Damascus, the capital, have closed down their shops, and the country is passing through one of the most depressing eras in its history.

* * *

A new process, which may revolutionize industry, has just been invented in England. This has to do with the coating of steel. Hitherto, stainless steel has been an expensive item whose use was therefore restricted. By this new method it will be possible to coat all steel with a very thin, but durable layer whose cost will be negligible. The inventor claims that his process will make possible the use, in the near future, of stainless steel ships, bridges, airplanes, and railway coaches.

* * *

Within a few weeks, leaders of Jewish organizations in various countries are to assemble in London to organize a relief body which will take care of Jews who are forced to leave Germany.

* * *

The first direct airline between Europe and the United States will be begun when the new German airship, the *Hindenburg*, makes her maiden trip from Germany on May 6.



ENGRAVING BABY BONUS BONDS

© Harris and Ewing

Much preparatory work must be done before the bonus bonds will be ready for distribution to World War veterans. This group of engraving experts at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing in Washington is working on the dies which will be used to engrave the bonds.

Roosevelt at Harvard

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, of the class of 1904, returned to Harvard during his visit to his home at Hyde Park last week in order to be present at the initiation of his son, John, into one of the university's more exclusive clubs. President Roosevelt had himself been a member of the club while a student at Harvard and, in addition to attending his son's initiation, participated in the 100th anniversary of the organization.

Although Mr. Roosevelt attended the gathering as a private citizen and not as President of the United States, it was a curious fact that the 300 guests, almost to the man, were opposed to the policies for which Mr. Roosevelt, as President, has been largely responsible. Members of the club are selected only from those who have attended private schools before going to Harvard and thus represent the "cream" of the crop so far as social background and prestige, education, and to a certain extent wealth, are concerned. As a general rule, such individuals are inclined to be conservative in their political philosophy and have no stomach for the type of reforms that have been undertaken by the present administration.

Civil Service Reform

Eight months before President Roosevelt took office, more than 80 per cent of all

1933 are not under civil service. Most of them are in the emergency agencies which have been established under the New Deal.

A few days ago, President Roosevelt declared that he favored legislation designed to correct at least one of the worst abuses of the spoils system, that is, filling thousands of postmasterships with political appointees. The President wants a law passed which will give civil service status to these postmasters, often referred to as "political postmasters." Whether much headway will be made at the present session of Congress is rather doubtful because of the opposition to such a move by Republicans. The Republicans charge that if these postmasters are now blanketed under civil service, the Democrats will have a great advantage, having already filled the offices with members of their party. Such a move would make the present employees, mostly Democrats, permanent.

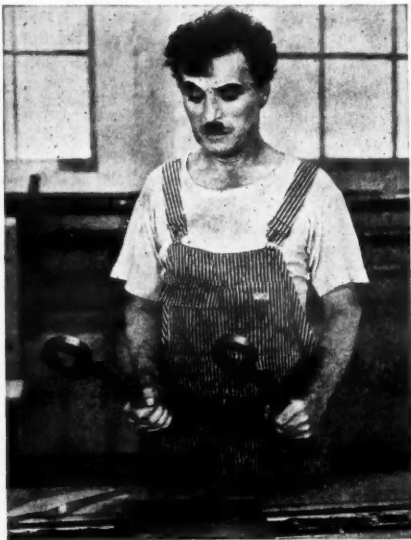
While all this is admitted, Democrats reply that if progress is ever to be made it must start somewhere and that once the evil is uprooted future appointments will not be made on a political basis. Moreover, they point to the fact that Republican administrations are known to have blanketed under civil service many employees who were appointed according to political affiliation.

Investigating Dr. Townsend

The Townsend Plan proposes to pay \$200 every month to all persons over 60 years of age, provided the money is spent within a month. To become a member of Old Age Revolving Pensions, Ltd., the organization sponsoring the plan, one must pay a 25-cent initiation fee and regular dues of 10 cents a month. If all the 8,000,000 members claimed by the Townsendites have made these payments, there would be some \$2,000,000 paid as initiation fees into the coffers, and \$800,000 would be pouring in every month as dues. Townsend officers insist, however, that in the last two years they have collected no more than \$800,000. The figures seem to be in need of clarification.

The House of Representatives has voted to do some of the clarifying. A committee of four Democrats and four Republicans has been selected to investigate the promotion methods and income figures of old-age pension plans, including the Townsend Plan. Representative Charles Jasper Bell of Missouri, who introduced the investigation resolution, has been appointed chairman of the committee, which contains at least two supporters of the plan.

Dr. Townsend will probably be one of the first witnesses in the investigation. He has promised to come to Washington to give the committee "every assistance." Representative John S. McGroarty of California, an ardent supporter of the plan who is sometimes mentioned as a possible presidential nominee on the Townsend ticket, has welcomed the investigation. He feels that it



—Courtesy Loew's Palace

CHARLIE CHAPLIN

Whose latest picture, "Modern Times" is winning acclaim from audiences and critics all over the country. It is his first in five years, but shows no decline from the standard of artistic excellence for which he is so widely known.

civilian government employees were under civil service. Today, the percentage is approximately 57, about the same as it was 30 years ago. According to the Civil Service Commission, about 230,000 of the 251,000 new employees that have been added to the federal government's payroll since March

The Week in e

What the American People Do

will not only help bring the issue into the election campaign, but that it may even double the Townsend membership before November.

Coughlin and Congress

In one of his recent addresses, the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin, Detroit's "radio priest," charged Representative John J. O'Connor, chairman of the House Rules Committee, with being a "servant of the money changers," and declared that he ought to resign from Congress. Father Coughlin feels that Mr. O'Connor blocked a vote in the House on the inflationary Frazier-Lemke bill, a piece of legislation which would refinance farm mortgages by a plan to issue new currency up to \$3,000,000,000.

Representative O'Connor heard the broadcast, denied that he had intimidated members of the House into removing their signatures from a petition to force the bill to the floor,



FRIENDS AGAIN

—Sykes in Boston Transcript

and sent the priest a telegram offering to kick him "all the way from the Capitol to the White House." Later Mr. O'Connor apologized for his language, but repeated his disagreement with the views of Father Coughlin. In reply to the charge that he was a "tool of Wall Street," Mr. O'Connor declared that while he was in Congress voting for the farmer, the priest was "profiting in Wall Street with his silver speculation."

Representative Sweeney of Ohio defended Father Coughlin in the House, but Representative Boland of Pennsylvania joined Mr. O'Connor in attacking him, saying, "This man in his egotism evidences every characteristic of the cruel, selfish, and prejudicial dictator." Messrs. Sweeney, Boland, and O'Connor are all Catholics.

Outside Capitol walls the fight against Coughlin was joined by President Angell of Yale, who characterized the priest as one who sends forth "weekly over the radio, under the blessed name of social justice, the most poisonous and inflammatory economic and social nonsense!"

"Modern Times"

Few motion pictures have appeared with more publicity than Charlie Chaplin's new picture, "Modern Times." When the show opened recently in New York, the crowd was so dense that reserve police forces were required to prevent a panic. When those fortunate enough to gain entrance to the playhouse came out it appeared from critical reports that the advance promotional build-up was amply justified.

From the title it might seem that the picture deals with important social questions. It does not, in any definite way. No brief is held for labor, or capital, or any economic system, in any but the vaguest fashion.

Charlie is his same old self. He has the same little mustache, the floppy trousers, the fifth unwieldy shoes, the derby, and cane. Similarities arise almost identical to those in former Chaplin movies. The master does not speak, although he does sing one short song. Coughlin, mentioning in *The New Republic*, Stark Young, a theater critic, deplored the reserve with which the New York film critics greeted "Modern Times." To Mr. Young its appearance was an event in the theater world. To the grocer Van Doren, writing in *The Nation*, Chaplin was "the most famous actor in the world, and possibly the most famous man."

The Legend Remains

In an attempt to discover the truth of the legend that George Washington once threw a silver dollar across the Rappahannock River, Representative Sol Bloom, director of the George Washington Bicentennial Commission, asked Walter Johnson, erstwhile big-league pitcher, to try and duplicate the feat on Washington's birthday. Before an audience of 10,000 people, Johnson succeeded. Two of his three tosses cleared the river. The "Big Train" himself was a little surprised. "Gosh," he said, "I didn't think I could do it." But Representative Bloom still refused to believe the legend, for he maintained that in Washington's day the Rappahannock was 1,420 feet wide. Walter Johnson's Rappahannock was only 272 feet wide.

Good feeling prevailed nonetheless, for Mr. Bloom sent Johnson a telegram of congratulation and an invitation to celebrate in Washington. The 1796 silver dollar which the congressman had given the pitcher to be used for the toss remained at Johnson's home as a memento. "Shucks, I want to keep that thing," said Walter. "I hear it is valuable." Instead of the old coin, three present-day dollars were used in the demonstration. The official one, inscribed "Walter Johnson threw this dollar across the Rappahannock River, February 22, 1936," hit a gasoline tank and was picked up, after a scramble of citizens, by Peter Yon, a stone mason. He refused to sell the coin for \$150; he will wait for a rise in the demand.

H. L. Roosevelt

Colonel Henry Latrobe Roosevelt, acting secretary of the navy, and a fifth or sixth cousin of the President, who died recently of



In New York City, police broke up an attempt by a mob to force sufficient relief payment. Representative Marcantonio was

The United States

Doing, Saying, and Thinking

heart attack, was the fourth Roosevelt and the fifth member of the family to hold the office of assistant secretary of the United States navy. Theodore Roosevelt, in office from 1897-98, was the first. Franklin D. Roosevelt held the job from 1913-20. Theodore, Jr., followed from 1921 to 1924. He was succeeded by Theodore Douglas Robinson, a nephew of Theodore Roosevelt; and Colonel Henry L. Roosevelt was the last of the group to date. Franklin D. and Henry L. were the only Democrats in the office; all the other Roosevelts were Republicans.

The assistant secretary had been very active in his post, and had taken part in many of the Navy Department's policy decisions. Secretary Claude A. Swanson has been ill much of the time since entering office. Colonel Roosevelt, 20 years an officer in the United States Marine Corps, was a "big navy" man, in favor of building an American navy that should be second to none.

The Blue Network

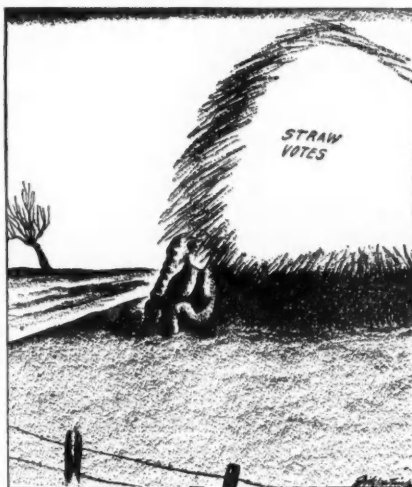
Frequently, organizations or individuals "blacklist" other organizations or individuals as enemies of something or other. It was a year or so ago that the famous "Red Network" which caused considerable bitter comment throughout the country. The purpose of this book was to list the radicals, and many prominent persons, liberals as well as radicals, from Mrs. Roosevelt to members of the Communist party were included. As a general rule, these "blacklistings" come from the conservative side of the political fence, from people who see danger to American liberty in the teachings of radicals.

Now, the liberals are having their fling. Last week at the annual meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association at St. Louis four individuals and two organizations were blacklisted by the John Dewey Society, a group of liberal educators. The list was read by Dr. George S. Counts of Columbia University, a leader of the liberal group. William Randolph Hearst, Alfred E. Smith, Father Coughlin, and Frank Belgrano, former commander of the American Legion, together with the Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Liberty League were denounced as the greatest enemies of American liberty and of freedom of teaching in the schools.

As in political conventions, the educators were divided into two camps, liberal and conservative. Many liberals believe that the schools should take a more active part in

changing the social order. Certain of them advocate indoctrination in the schools in favor of such changes; that is, they believe that students should be taught that our economic order has serious defects and should be mended. The conservatives are opposed to such a thing, although many of them favor another type of indoctrination. They advocate a form of teaching which shows the present organization of society in a favorable light and which opposes economic and social change.

Both these groups were denounced at the opening meeting last week by Dr. Glenn Frank, president of the University of Wisconsin. Both groups are using the schools, he charged, for purposes of propaganda. "The Americans from the Right," he said, "want the schools to become agencies of propaganda for their particular concept of the traditional social order. The Americans from the Left, who are advancing this notion of the schools, want the schools to become agencies of propaganda for their particular brand of new social order, usually a social order based upon some measure of collectivism." Dr.



WAYSIDE LODGING

—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Frank's own program calls for the "utmost freedom of scholarship and investigation" by the schools.

Let the Goal Posts Stand

In his annual Alumni Day address, President James Rowland Angell of Yale told 2,000 graduates of the university that the time had come to do something about rowdiness at intercollegiate athletic contests. Dr. Angell held that tearing down the opposing team's goal posts, booing players and officials, and trying to rattle baseball pitchers were never the marks of good sportsmanship. Goal post attacks have become so violent recently that serious injuries have resulted, and it is very possible that someone may yet be killed in the mad crush and tumble attendant upon such demonstrations. Football crowds have become so eager for the goal posts that they sometimes rush on the field to pull down the posts even before the game is over. Dr. Angell crystallized his opinion of the subject in one sentence: "The whole business has become an intolerable nuisance."

With regard to the discourtesies shown visiting players and officials of the games, the Yale president felt that the situation could improve only when "our American college groups, both graduate and undergraduate, come to realize that bad manners and poor sportsmanship are the marks of the 'mucker' and that no self-respecting institution can afford to tolerate insults to guests, which is what, in fact, visiting teams are." Dr. Angell added that representatives of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton are studying the problem and seeking means to eliminate its unsavory aspects.

In another part of his address, President Angell decried the number and seriousness



ICEBERGS IN SEASON

© Harris and Ewing

At this time of the year the Navy Department's hydrographic office is on the alert for icebergs in Atlantic shipping lanes. Here is August B. McManus, senior nautical engineer, who twice a day broadcasts warnings to ship masters of bergs, wrecks, and derelicts. The chart indicates the floating range of icebergs.

of football injuries, and wondered whether, in the face of the growing number of accidents and deaths, football ought to be continued as an intercollegiate sport.

Farm Bill Passed

The House of Representatives has passed the \$500,000,000 soil conservation act, designed to take the place of the AAA recently declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The new bill, instead of reimbursing farmers for cutting production and holding their lands out of cultivation, pays them for growing certain grasses and legumes which are known to supply needed nitrates to the soil. In this way the production of wheat, corn, cotton and other crops can be regulated, and the soil can be conserved and enriched for future use. The secretary of agriculture is given a free hand in deciding just what the farm output should be in any year, and just how much money should be paid any individual farmer. This power to control any crop gives the secretary some influence over the prices of farm products.

The bill further authorizes federal grants to states which have set up approved machinery for promoting "soil conservation, a stable food supply, and maintenance of farmers' purchasing powers." It is expected that two years will elapse before this provision is put into actual practice.

Opponents of the bill put up a stiff fight in Congress. Representative John Taber of New York, a Republican, charged that the bill was "communistic," that it continued a "program of scarcity," and that it would make a slave of the farmer. Other Republicans insisted that the administration was ignoring the recent AAA rulings of the Supreme Court. The struggle of the opposition was in vain, however, for the supporters of the bill were strongly organized. A dozen proposed amendments to limit the powers of the secretary of agriculture in applying the bill were defeated by heavy Democratic majorities.

Guns Barred

The Senate has just passed a bill making the shipment of firearms and ammunition to foreign countries or from one state to another a crime unless it is part of the regular business of licensed dealers. This is the strongest measure ever submitted to Congress in the attempt to stop the tremendous commerce in machine guns, automatic pistols, and other quick-firing weapons. Though it has been shown that the underworld obtains many of its guns by theft rather than by purchase, gangsters and organized racketeers have undoubtedly been the chief beneficiaries of this commerce.

In Brief

In 1935 there was a considerable increase in travel by air, 747,000 passengers being carried, compared with 462,000 in 1934.

Governor Blanton Winship of Puerto Rico says that 300,000 children in that territory are

growing up illiterate because of lack of teachers and school buildings.

In 1929 there were 903 strikes in the United States involving 203,463 workers. In 1935, it is estimated that there were 1,819 strikes involving 1,128,000 workers.

Last year approximately 26,000,000 motor vehicles were registered in the United States, and on these taxes amounting to \$1,300,000,000 were collected, an average of \$50 per car.

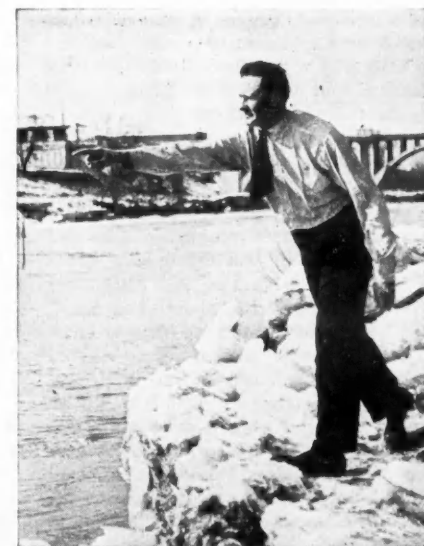
The wealth per family of farmers averaged \$9,668 in 1932, and the wealth per family of people living in cities and towns amounted to \$8,709.

Names in the News

Albert C. Ritchie, four times governor of Maryland, Democrat, opponent of the New Deal, died suddenly February 24 at the age of 59.

Major General Johnson Hagood was relieved of his command of the Eighth Corps Area after having criticized WPA expenditures before a committee of the House of Representatives.

Owen D. Young, prominent industrial leader, Democrat, criticizes members of both parties for abusing freedom of speech on the radio. He urges the avoidance of bitter partisanship.



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OVER THE RIVER

Walter Johnson, famous former baseball player, as he threw a silver dollar across the Rappahannock River in Virginia on February 22, thus proving that George Washington might have done it in his day.

Herbert H. Lehman, governor of New York, continues his fight for further legislation to curb crime.

Charles M. Schwab, director of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, celebrated his 74th birthday and predicted further business recovery.



© Wide World

WHAT FAILED

employed to march to WPA offices in protest against In New York, leader of the parade, was among those arrested.

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

The Monroe Doctrine Yesterday and Today

ALTHOUGH the Monroe Doctrine was set forth more than a hundred years ago, in fairly simple and understandable English, it has been the source of more misunderstanding and confusion than any single American foreign policy. From the days of James Monroe, few presidents have escaped applying it in one way or another. It has been interpreted and reinterpreted, expanded and contracted, upheld and denounced, on hundreds of occasions. Its application has brought the United States to the brink of war more than once, and the ill will it



DAVID S. MUZZEY

has caused between this country and the 20 Latin-American republics will be one of the most difficult tasks of American statesmanship to overcome. It has been raised again today in a real and vital form.

As enunciated by President Monroe in his message to Congress December 2, 1823, the famous doctrine provided simply that "the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers," and that any attempt on the part of European nations to control any independent government in North or South America would be regarded "as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." In other words, it was a word of warning to Europe to keep its hands off the American continents.

The Venezuela Incident

All that seemed simple enough, and it probably would have remained so if presidents and secretaries of state had not given their own peculiar interpretations to the doctrine. Some of these interpretations took a queer form, indeed. They assume especially large proportions toward the end of the last century and the first part of the present. While the doctrine was by no means carried to its extreme by Grover Cleveland in the famous Venezuela boundary dispute, that episode does serve as a brilliant example of the difficulties which may be encountered under it, and is especially appropriate at this time because it coincides with the period studied by most American history classes now.

The facts in the case are not complex. Ever since England had taken Guiana from Holland in 1814, the boundary between that colony and Venezuela had been disputed. When Cleveland began his second term, he felt that the dispute should be settled by arbitration and that, under the Monroe Doctrine, the United States had a right to see that action was taken at once. Secretary of State Olney adopted an extremely undiplomatic tone in his diplomatic correspondence with the British government, and when it did not immediately accept the arbitration proposal of the United States, President Cleveland sent a special message to Congress on the subject—a message which was brusque in tone, to say the least. Professor Allan Nevins makes an interesting comment on this special message in his excellent biography of Grover Cleveland:

Few episodes in our diplomatic history have received so much study. We now know every factual detail; how Olney, with whom Cleveland had left instructions, wrote out the draft message to Congress, and had it copied by his Boston clerk on December 13; how Cleveland returned to the White House on Sunday afternoon, the 15th, and held a conference with Olney and Lamont; how he sat up all night rewriting Olney's document; and how when he finished at dawn, as he said later, he could not tell which sentences were Olney's

and which were his own. The message asked Congress to appropriate money for a commission to determine the true Venezuelan boundary, and declared that it would be the duty of the United States to maintain this boundary against any aggression. Congress received the document with lusty cheers.

Few historians have ever attempted to justify Cleveland for the brusqueness of tone or the truculence of language he employed in this message. If it did not bring us to war with Great Britain, it was certainly not Cleveland's fault. Actually, it had the opposite effect partly, as Professor Nevins says, "by ripping away a veil from English eyes, and partly by stimulating many Americans to send fervent expressions of cordiality in an effort to counteract Cleveland's brusqueness."

Roosevelt Interpretations

It was perhaps the first Roosevelt who carried the Monroe Doctrine to its extreme limits by the corollaries he added to it. It was his opinion that the United States had the responsibility of being guardian for Latin-America, especially for the Caribbean and Central American countries. If these nations failed to pay their debts to European creditors, the United States had the duty of seeing that such obligations were met, even if we had to send troops to the countries and take over the customs houses. His most famous corollary, enunciated in 1904, established the United States as an international police power to maintain order in Latin America. In his message to Congress that year, the President gave this unusual interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine: "... in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power."

That the United States has used this power of intervention on countless occasions, recent history bears striking evidence. Marines have been landed on foreign soil to protect the property and lives of Americans, as well as to collect their debts, time and again. A few years ago, Smedley D. Butler, at one time in charge of the marines, declared, "I know that many of those expeditions were nothing but collection trips for the bad debts contracted by the Wall Street bankers."

It was largely the exercise of this police power that gave the United States such a black eye among the Latin-American countries. Latin America has never accepted the Monroe Doctrine as binding because it was a policy with the adoption of which it had nothing to do. The United States has invoked it, these countries feel, whenever it has wished to further its own interests and to establish political and economic control over the entire hemisphere.

Within the last few years, efforts have been made to undo the harm that has come from application of the Monroe Doctrine. Under President Hoover, the movement away from intervention was begun, as marines were withdrawn from Nicaragua. One of the bases of President Roosevelt's foreign policy is the establishment of more friendly relations with the Latin American countries. He has given indication that the United States will not send military expeditions to those countries and that this nation will not try to dominate the two continents. The United States may go farther at the coming Latin American conference and may consent to reconsider the Doctrine with a view to making it a policy to which all the American nations can adhere on a basis of complete equality.



PELICANS IN THE GALAPAGOS

From a photograph in "Voyage to the Galapagos."

Among the New Books

George Moore

"Epitaph on George Moore," by Charles Morgan. (New York: Macmillan. \$1.25.)

SOME years ago George Moore, famed British author, asked Charles Morgan to be his biographer, and so designated the author of "The Fountain" in his will. There were some personal letters, however, absolutely essential to the success of the biography, and their owner would not permit access to them to Mr. Morgan. That gentleman thereupon renounced his claim to write the definitive biography of Moore and produced this "Epitaph."

It is a lovely and illuminating tribute. In half a hundred pages Mr. Morgan gives a concise critical analysis of Moore's style, showing the difficulties the author was forced to overcome to evolve this style. Bits of interesting information about Moore himself are also presented.

Those who became acquainted with Charles Morgan's work in "The Fountain," and who are interested in English literature will find this book a welcome addition to their shelves.

Good Travel, Good Adventure

"Voyage to Galapagos," by William Albert Robinson. (New York: Harcourt, Brace. \$3.00.)

WHEN a young man sets out with his bride and 20-year-old cousin on a seagoing trip in a 10-ton, 32-foot ketch having only one motor, you can but admire his courage. When he writes an enchanting book about the voyage you are compelled to respect his versatility. Mr. Robinson has done both.

"The Voyage to Galapagos" had its quota of events which were interesting and exciting, without appearing incredulous. After leaving Cuba, the little ship encountered plenty of trouble in the form of a hurricane. The *Svaap* (Sanskrit for "Dream") was a seaworthy vessel, but fortunately was called upon only to skirt the edge of the hurricane. Otherwise there

probably would have been no voyage to Galapagos to write about. In the inland of Panama the *Svaap* ran aground in one of the strangest wrecks ever reported. With difficulty and ingenuity she was salvaged and proceeded down the coast to Peru, thence to the Guano Islands, extraordinary source of great wealth, at last reaching her destination, the Galapagos, those wild islands of the South Pacific, cutting and for the most part lying below the equator. Here a happy existence was nearly brought to utter ruin by a tragic accident.

There are few dull pages in "Voyage to Galapagos." Almost in its entirety it is the travel book raised to a height of excellence.

Mystery in Tennessee

"Marsh Island Mystery," by Maristan Chapman. (New York: Appleton-Century. \$2.00.)

MARISTAN CHAPMAN'S new book is not the usual type of mystery story. Marsh Island is in the swamp country of Tennessee. On this island is the hide-away of some thieves who have been stealing horses from an old man near by. To help the old man locate the thieves three boys and their dog come from a neighboring settlement to stay with him.

The boys' adventures while trying to solve the mystery of the disappearing horses provide exciting reading. The story is set throughout at a fast-moving pace. While "Marsh Island Mystery" will appeal particularly to younger readers, there is a quality about it reminiscent of Mark Twain which should make it appeal to older readers as well.

A Plea for Revolution

"Farewell to Poverty," by Maurice Parmelee. (New York: Wiley. \$2.50.)

DR. PARMELEE contends that the elimination of poverty is impossible under a capitalist setup. In the first half of this book he presents a scholarly and detailed criticism of the present economic system in the United States. In the latter half he portrays the new social order as he would have it. It is definitely communist. There is no place for planned economy under capitalism, he claims, nor will a semi-collectivist state prove satisfactory. Society must go the whole way. The only method by which the new order may be secured is by a complete revolution. There can be no gradual change. Dr. Parmelee believes that communism will come more easily in the United States than it did in Russia, and that the stage is now set for the proletarian revolution. While Dr. Parmelee's book is interesting, there are many who will disagree, not only with his premises, but also with his conclusions.



FROM THE JACKET DESIGN BY JAMES MCKELL FOR "MARSH ISLAND MYSTERY."



America's growing army and navy. Do we need such a large military establishment? Do we know why we are increasing our fighting forces?

THESE three imaginary students will meet each week on this page to talk things over. The same characters will continue from week to week. We believe that readers of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER will find it interesting to follow these discussions week by week and thus to become acquainted with the three characters. Needless to say, the views expressed on this page are not to be taken as the opinions of the editors of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.

Charles: It seems to me an outrageous thing that our government is spending more for the army and navy than it has ever done before in peacetime. I can see why the nations in Europe, jammed up against each other as they are, and filled with jealousies and suspicions, might be increasing their armaments, but why should we be doing it? Against whom will we need to defend ourselves? Who is going to attack us? Nobody, if we do not go out looking for trouble.

John: Did you read the speech made in the Senate two or three weeks ago by Senator Lewis of Illinois? He said that secret plans are under way by which Russia and Japan may go together and attack the United States through Alaska. We talk about being separated from other countries by great oceans, but it is only a few miles from the tip of Alaska to the eastern point in Russia. The Japanese and Russians could bring up a great force and carry it over to Alaska quite easily if we did not have large armed forces to prevent it.

Mary: That sounds very foolish to me. Everybody knows that Russia and Japan are at swords' points. If any fighting is done over there, they will do it against each other. Their policies are absolutely opposed. Russia is communistic, and Japan hates and fears communism more than anything else. Both countries are expanding, and they have conflicting interests in China. If we are building up a great army and navy and air force because of such a bugaboo as this, it seems to me that we are doing something very silly. Senator Lewis simply does not know what he is talking about and I cannot understand why he should have made such outlandish statements in the Senate.

John: The point is that we don't know what will happen in the future. There does not seem to be any immediate danger of attack upon us just now, but things happen very quickly and things change quickly. We do know that fighting is going on in the world, and that there are likely to be wars for a long time to come. It seems to me that in a world of that kind, the United States should be prepared for emergencies, even those which we cannot yet see. For that reason I think that we should have the most powerful navy in the world, and very strong air forces. We should also have a good

army. We can afford to be prepared to defend ourselves, and it would be a bad thing for us not to be.

Charles: Are you sure we can afford it? Remember that there are 10 million or so unemployed in the country. They and their families have to be taken care of in some way, and yet most of the people who pay taxes are yelling now about cutting expenses. They say we will be ruined if we go on spending. It seems to me that if we have to cut out any kind of expenses, it had better be expenses for an army and navy that we will probably never need, than expenses for relief which keep millions from suffering right now.

John: Well, if we didn't have any foreign trade, our problem of unemployment would be much greater than it is now, and our foreign trade would no doubt be cut down a great deal if we weren't able to protect it.

Charles: So that is what the army and navy are for, is it? To protect our foreign commerce? That sounds to me like using the army and navy to carry out national policy—a thing which we promised not to do when we signed the Paris Pact. This Pact declares, you know, that no nation signing it will resort to war as an instrument of national policy.

John: We can't be foolish about a thing of that kind. If other nations are going ahead fighting for national interests and policies, we have to be prepared to do so.

Charles: If we are building up a navy to protect commerce and gain trade, we are wasting our money. In the first place, it is a mistake to think that we can't have foreign trade without fighting for it. With what nations do we do most of our trading today? With England, Canada, Germany, South America, Japan, France, and nations and regions of that kind. Why do we carry on the trade? Because it is to our benefit and to their benefit that we buy and sell. It would hurt England or Germany or South America or Japan as much as it hurts us if they should stop trading with us. If it were not profitable for them to buy our goods and sell their goods to us, we couldn't force them to carry on trade by fighting. Since it is profitable for them, we don't need to fight in order to get the trade. The idea that nations profit by going out and fighting for colonies or for trade privileges in undeveloped countries is an illusion. Anyone who doesn't think so should read the books of Sir Norman Angell. He demonstrates that point conclusively. The fact is that during peacetime, the United States can carry on trade with every country so long as that trade is profitable to both, and under no other circumstances. Wartime trade is interfered with, it is true, but wartime trade is not worth fighting for, because if we fight for it we get into the war, and in order to save a few millions of dollars, we spend billions, as the experiment of the World War proved. I say, therefore, that we do not need a navy to protect commerce.

Mary: I agree with that, but there are other uses to which a navy might be put. It is not unlikely that aggressive nations like Germany or Japan or Italy will disturb the peace of the world so much that they must be curbed. In that case the United States will not want to stand back and do nothing about it. We will want to do as we did in the World War. We will want to go in with the democratic nations to hold the militaristic ones in check. At least, we may want to do that, and if we do, we should be strongly armed so that we can do our part.

Charles: There would be some argument in favor of your point, Mary, if it were not for the fact that the American people seem to be absolutely determined not to go in with the League of Nations. Our new neutrality law shows that. It would be foolish to build up a great army and navy and air fleet in order to help the League of Nations put down aggressors when we have no thought of doing anything of the kind. We ought to be consistent in our policies.

John: We ought also to be realistic. We know very well that the American people, like every other people, change their minds sometimes. We know that whatever people may be saying now, they are likely to be in favor of our going into war if another one comes. In spite of all our neutrality laws, our commerce is going to be interfered with if another big war develops. Americans are going to be killed. Our people then will become angry. They will take sides again as they did before. Probably they would take sides against either Germany or Japan if France and England were fighting those countries. We know that, rightly or wrongly, we are very likely to become involved in the next war. For that reason we should be prepared, and very well prepared at that.

Mary: At any rate we should decide as far as we can what we may want to fight about, and whom we may fight. We should know first what our own policies are. Then we should figure out what nations may be in the way of our carrying out those policies. When we decide what countries we may have to fight, we can then determine upon the size of the army and navy we will need. We should always ask, before we vote appropriations for military purposes, what we are going to use the forces for. For an illustration of what I mean, let us turn to the Far East. If we should decide that it is in our interest to keep Japan from expanding into China and putting up obstacles there to American trade—if, I say, we should decide to try to stop that—we will need a navy two or three times as large as the one we have. We will need a navy at least twice as large as Japan's. If, on the other hand, we decide that such restrictions as Japan might impose upon our trade in China would not be worth fighting a big war about, and if we decide that we will not try to prevent Japanese expansion in China by war, then we will not need much of a navy in the Pacific. But we cannot possibly decide intelligently on the size of our navy until we make a decision as to what our policy toward Japan and China is going to be.

Charles: I would like to ask, Mary, what you think our policy toward Japan should be? Do you think we should build up a great naval force for the purpose of carrying war to Japan—fighting her on her own grounds over her policy in Asia?

Mary: That's another question. I would be perfectly willing to discuss it with you, but I don't believe we have time today.



SINISTER CLOUDS

From a drawing by E. Lipus in "Illustrierte Zeitung."

THOUGHTS AND SMILES

Senator Vandenberg has a farm program with only two points. We do not see how he expects to compete with others who have six and more points. —*Muskegon CHRONICLE*

One has to assume from the Nazi salute that the new deal in Germany isn't like ours. The palm is down. —*Detroit NEWS*

Maybe we shall survive our starry-eyed idealism at home, but may Foster Providence at last make us realistic abroad. —*General Johnson*

"If you destroy the leisure class," Mr. J. P. Morgan said, "you destroy civilization." That's an idea, too. —*F.P.A. in New York HERALD-TRIBUNE*

Charlie Chaplin's new movie, "Modern Times," has been banned in Germany on the ground that Charlie's mustache looks too much like Hitler's. But isn't the real reason the fact that Hitler's mustache looks too much like Charlie's? —*N. Y. EVENING POST*

What country can preserve its liberties if its rulers are not warned from time to time that the people preserve the spirit of resistance? —*Thomas Jefferson*

And now our future would be secure if somebody could only figure out a way for people to spend their time between leaving the CCC and becoming eligible for old-age pensions. —*JUDGE*

Under the Townsend Plan every pensioner would be obliged to spend all his money every month—and so would the great majority of the taxpaying population. —*Philadelphia EVENING BULLETIN*

Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration. —*Abraham Lincoln*

The only conclusion we have reached is that you can't have Coolidge economy, Hoover efficiency, and Roosevelt relief in the same year. —*Dallas NEWS*

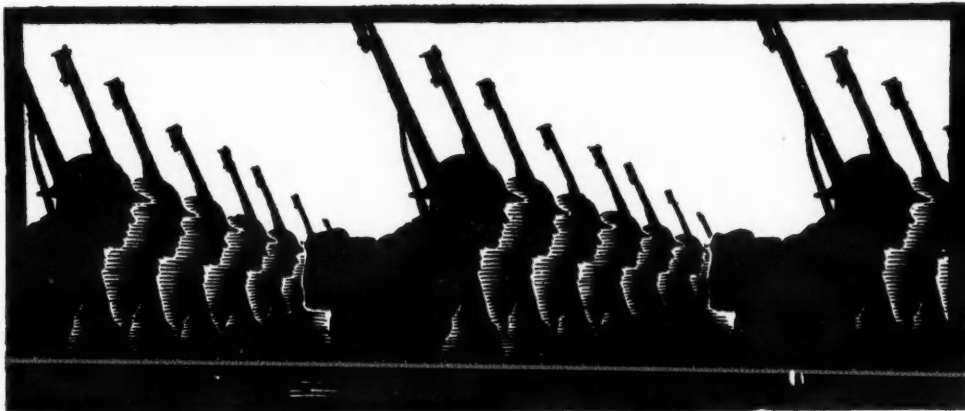
Europeans complain that they never know what Great Britain's foreign policy is. The British can sympathize with them; they don't know, either. —*Toronto SATURDAY NIGHT*

Business today with all its complicated ramifications seems a bit like the mad hatter's tea party. A little simplification would be the first step toward rational living, I think. —*Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt*

We may have to vote the Democratic ticket after all. Anybody who can assemble President and Mrs. Roosevelt, Chief Justice and Mrs. Hughes and Gracie Allen all at the same dinner table, as Vice President Garner did, deserves a vote. —*Charleston MAIL*



—New Outlook



OFF TO BATTLE

Illustration from the jacket of "Slanting Lines of Steel," by E. Alexander Powell (Macmillan).

Few New Provisions Contained in Reenacted Neutrality Bill

(Concluded from page 1)

citizens. The foreign countries sold their bonds in the United States, and with the money obtained in this way they bought American goods. A tremendous war trade was financed through borrowing. That is to be done away with now.

4. The President is given permission to warn citizens that if they travel on a vessel of a belligerent nation they do so at their own risk. Whenever the President issues such a proclamation, American citizens know that if they travel upon a ship owned by one of the nations at war and if they suffer damage as a result of it, they cannot call upon our government to take up their cases. If this provision had been in effect at the time the *Lusitania* was sunk, our government would have had no responsibility for the loss of lives of Americans.

Favoring American Nations

5. The provisions of this act do not apply to any republic in the Western Hemisphere which may be engaged in a war against a non-American state or states, provided that the American republic is not cooperating with any other non-American nation in carrying on the war.

This last provision indicates that the United States government has a greater concern for the other countries in the Americas than it does for countries located elsewhere. This is in keeping with our Monroe Doctrine. The people of the United States have felt for more than a century that they should, in a way, look out for the weaker nations of the Western Hemisphere. That is the intention of the newly enacted law.

If, for example, Japan should now make war upon Peru, Americans could make loans and sell all kinds of goods, including munitions, to the Peruvian government. They could not sell munitions or make loans to the Japanese. But, suppose that while Peru and Japan were carrying on their war, the League of Nations should step in and decide to help Peru; suppose that nations belonging to the League should adopt sanctions against Japan; one might think that that would please the people and government of the United States. The League would be helping to defeat Japan. But here we come to that strange provision in our neutrality law which says: "This act shall not apply to an American republic or republics engaged in war against a non-American state or states, provided the American republic is not cooperating with a non-American state

or states in such war." Since Peru received cooperation from the League of Nations; that is, from non-American states, the United States would, therefore, withdraw its assistance from Peru. After that it would be unlawful for Americans to sell arms or to make loans to the Peruvians. As soon as the League of Nations stepped in to help Peru fight Japan, the United States would step out, and treat Peru just as it did Japan. We would be required to do that by the neutrality law which has just been enacted.

Against the League

This provision was put into the law through the efforts of men like Senator Johnson of California who are bitterly opposed to the League of Nations and are very suspicious of it. The intention probably was to prevent the United States from getting mixed up in a war between the League of Nations and some other country. It was thought that we might be helping the South American country and then that the League of Nations might help that country too. After that we would be working alongside the members of the League of Nations and might get drawn into a general war.

The effect of this provision, however, is that we say to the Central and South American republics: "If you get into trouble with a European or an Asiatic nation, you must choose between the United States and the League of Nations. If the League helps you we will not." Whether intended or not, this becomes an act in opposition to the League. It tends to discourage the Central and South American countries from belonging to the League. If it has any influence upon these western countries at all, it will probably be to encourage them to form into a defensive union of their own with the United States at the head instead of going in with the League of Nations.

U. S. and Sanctions

This new law does not make any provision by which the United States may cooperate with the League of Nations when the League is taking action against an aggressor nation. At the present time, for example, the nations which are members of the League are carrying on a policy of sanctions against Italy because Italy made unprovoked war against Ethiopia. These nations refuse to buy certain Italian products and forbid their citizens to sell Italians certain specified things. This is done in an effort to hamper Italy so that she cannot carry on her aggressive war successfully. The League has considered prohibiting the shipment of oil to Italy. If it should do this, it would probably be a death blow, for Italy could not carry on war without foreign oil.

The United States, however, is not a member of the League of Nations. There is nothing in our law to prevent our citizens from selling the Italians anything (other than arms and ammunition) which the Italians want and can pay for. If the members of the League of Nations refuse to sell oil to Italy, the Italians may buy increased quantities of oil from the United States. This will have the effect of breaking the force of the sanctions. The Americans, without intending to do so, will be helping Italy to es-

cape the punishment which the League of Nations is trying to impose upon her. It would probably be impossible, therefore, for the League to strangle Italy, or Germany, or Japan, or any other aggressive nation by denying it oil or other essential products, so long as the United States maintains its present policy of selling freely to any nation, even though the League has pronounced that nation an aggressor and is trying to punish it. In a way, the United States is taking sides against the League and in favor of countries which the League may condemn as being offenders against world peace. This is not the intention of the American people, but it is one of the effects of our policy.

The Roosevelt administration wanted to avoid such a situation as this. The administration's neutrality bills, as first introduced in the Senate and the House of Representatives, provided that the President might forbid an abnormal war trade with any belligerent nation. Under the present conditions, if these bills had passed, the President could say that Americans could carry on as much trade with Italy as they did before the war, but no more. If, then, the members of the League of Nations had stopped shipping oil to Italy, Italians could not have bought additional supplies from America. But opposition arose to these bills from a number of sources. Finally, it appeared that they could not be passed quickly. The President and his advisers did not want a bitter and long-continued debate over neutrality and over the question of whether the United States should cooperate more closely with the League of Nations. Accordingly, it was decided to let the original bills die and to put through a compromise bill as a temporary measure, and that was done.

The Compromise Measure

The neutrality law which we have described will be effective until May 1, 1937. It is disappointing to advocates of cooperation with the League. It is disappointing to those who wanted the government to be able to prevent abnormal war trade in any kind of goods when other nations should be at war. It is disappointing to those who insist that we should settle things and establish a permanent neutrality policy of some kind. On the other hand, it does provide a good many safeguards against our getting into war. It stops practices which played a big part in getting us into the World War. It represents a decided departure from the historical American neutrality policy. And it gives the country more than a year to thresh out the big issues and decide upon a permanent policy, provided, of course, the long-expected European war does not break out in the meantime. In that case, naturally, we would have to meet the emergency, acting under the law which has just been passed.

It should be observed that the purpose of those who supported the neutrality act was to make the United States really a neutral in case of war among foreign nations. We are to treat all alike, whether they are League members or aggressors, whether they are dictatorships or democracies. If we decide to stay out of the fight, we are to keep our hands off. That does not mean, of course, that we commit ourselves absolutely never to take part in a war. If the time ever comes when the American people think that they have an interest in the outcome of a war, enough so that America should take sides, they can do so. Congress may then declare war. Or it may vote to have America join the League of Nations in imposing sanctions against some aggressor. But it



MAYBE YOU CAN'T DODGE LIGHTNING. BUT IT'S NICE TO BE FREE TO TRY

—Carlisle in Rockford Morning Star

will have to act openly. We will not take sides while pretending to be neutral. So long as our purpose is to stay out we will treat all alike.

Such is the argument of those who think that the new law is satisfactory. Of course that does not satisfy those who contend that, while protesting that it is not taking sides, America may really be helping aggressor nations; that it may do this simply by trading freely with them when the League is trying to curb them by shutting off their trade. In such a case it would appear that there is no really neutral ground; that those who are not with the League are against it. That is one of the problems which will have to be threshed out during the next 14 months.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has published these figures showing the causes of death per 100,000 of population in the year 1935: heart diseases 157.4; cancer 95.5; influenza and pneumonia 80.7; cerebral hemorrhage 61.2; Bright's disease 59.9; tuberculosis 55.6; accidents 54.5; diabetes 24.2; suicide 9.1; homicide 5.9.

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

1. What significance do you attach to the provision of the new neutrality law with respect to the Latin American countries?
2. In what respect is the new law a victory for the isolationists?
3. Why is the law more strictly a neutrality law than the one originally proposed by the Roosevelt administration?
4. What mistakes did the Spanish radicals make when they were in power before—mistakes which contributed to their downfall? Do you think it likely that these mistakes will be repeated now?
5. How does the religious issue figure in the present conflict between Spanish liberals and conservatives?
6. Do you think a socialistic program like that advocated by the radicals could be successful in Spain? Why?
7. What is meant by the Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, and how has the present administration moved away from that interpretation of the historic policy?
8. How do many liberal and conservative educators differ on the subject of indoctrination? What does President Glenn Frank mean by "propaganda from the Left" and "propaganda from the Right"?
9. Do you believe that the United States should maintain a large naval and military establishment?
10. How has Germany succeeded in stimulating its foreign trade?

PRONUNCIATIONS: Alejandro Lerroux (ah-lay-han'dro lay-roo'), José María Gil Robles (ho-say' ma-rec'a heel' ro-blays), Manuel Azaña (ma-noo-el' ah-than'ya), Cortes (kor-tays), Gómez (go'mays), Eleazar Contreras (eh-laya-sair' kon-treh'ras), Pietro Badoglio (pee-ay'tro bah-do'lyo—o as in go).



"I THOUGHT I HAD A TANKFUL OF GAS"

—Carmack in Christian Science Monitor